# UNITY

*FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION*


The Chances for Non-Violent Resistance - - - - - - - *Richard B. Gregg*

Stand Up, America! - - *Harold P. Marley*

Peace Pioneering in New Zealand - - - - - - - - - *Marie H. Allen*

THE STUDY TABLE
*John Haynes Holmes*



VOLUME CXXVI NUMBER 3

Chicago, October 7, 1940

PRICE FIFTEEN CENTS

# UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

*Published Semi-Monthly* *Subscription $3.00*
*Until Further Notice* *Single Copies 15 cents*

UNITY, Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
*"Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24, 1935, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*



*Publication Committee*

MRS. S. O. LEVINSON, Chairman
MRS E. L. LOBDELL, Vice-Chairman
MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, Treasurer
MRS. O. T. KNIGHT
MR. C. W. REESE
MISS MATILDA C. SCHAFF
MR. JAMES E. TUCKER

*Editorial Contributors*

W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW
DOROTHY WALTON BINDER
RAYMOND B. BRAGG
TARAKNATH DAS
ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
LOUIS L. MANN
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
M. C. OTTO
ALSON H. ROBINSON
ROBERT C. SCHALLER
FRED W. SHORTER
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

*Poetry Editors*

LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

*Washington Correspondent*

BRENT DOW ALLINSON

*Foreign Representatives*

AUSTRALIA—CHARLES STRONG
AUSTRIA—STEFAN ZWEIG
BULGARIA—P. M. MATTHÉEFF
ENGLAND—HARRISON BROWN
FRED HANKINSON
REGINALD REYNOLDS
FRANCE—G. DEMARTIAL
ROMAIN ROLLAND
GERMANY—THEODOR HAHN
INDIA—RABINDRANATH TAGORE
JAPAN—NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA
PALESTINE—HANS KOHN
RUSSIA—ALINA HUEBSCH


## Contents


EDITORIAL—

Notes ..... 35

Jottings—J. H. H. ..... 38

ARTICLES—

The Chances for Non-Violent Resistance—RICHARD B. GREGG... 38

Stand Up, America!—HAROLD P. MARLEY ..... 41

Peace Pioneering in New Zealand—MARIE H. ALLEN ..... 43

On the Pacifist Front—XXIII ..... 44

POETRY—

My Country, Right!—THOMAS CURTIS CLARK ..... 37

THE STUDY TABLE—

Book Reviews—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES ..... 46

CORRESPONDENCE—

Mr. Willkie's Peculiar Liberalism—VICTOR S. YARROS ..... 48

Citizens of the World—MORRIS LYCHENHEIM ..... 48

THE FIELD—

Lay Down Your Arms—MAHATMA GANDHI (*Peace News*) .... 34


## The Field

*"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."*

### Lay Down Your Arms*

By MAHATMA GANDHI

The full text of Gandhi's message to Britain issued July 2, 1940, follows:

In 1896 I addressed an appeal to every Briton in South Africa on behalf of my countrymen who had gone there as laborers, traders, and assistants. It had its effect. However important it was from my point of view, the cause I pleaded then is insignificant compared with the cause which prompts this appeal.

I do not want Britain to de defeated, nor do I want her to be victorious in the trial of brute strength. British muscular bravery is an established fact.

Your statesmen have declared that this is a war on behalf of democracy. There are many other reasons given in justification. You know them all by heart. I suggest at the end of the war —whichever way it ends—there will be no democracy left to represent democracy.

This war descended upon mankind as a curse and a warning.

It is a curse inasmuch as it is brutalizing man on a scale hitherto unknown. All distinctions between combatants and non-combatants have been abolished. None, nothing is to be spared. Lying has been reduced to an art. Britain was to defend small nationalities. One by one they have vanished at least for the time being.

It also is a warning. It is a warning that if nobody reads the writing on the wall, man will be reduced to the state of the beast whom he is shaming by his manners.

I read the writing when hostilities broke out. But I had not the courage to say the word. God has given me the courage to say it before it is too late.

#### Bad in Essence

I appeal for the cessation of hostilities, not because you are too exhausted to fight but because war is bad in essence. You want to kill Naziism. You will never kill it by its indifferent adoption. You will have to be more ruthless than the Nazis.

To win the war, Britain must adopt with greater thoroughness the same work of destruction as the Germans, which would be an undignified competition.

No cause, however just, can warrant indiscriminate slaughter going on minute by minute. I suggest that the cause that demands the inhumanities that are being perpetrated today cannot be called just.

Let Hitler and Mussolini take possession of your beautiful island, your homes and allow yourselves to be slaughtered; but refuse to owe allegiance to them.

#### A Successful Method

This process and method which I have called non-violent non-coöperation is not without considerable success in its use in India. Your repre-

*Reprint from *Peace News*, July 19, 1940.

(*Continued on page* 47)

# UNITY

*"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"*

Volume CXXVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1940 No. 3

### A PROCESSIONAL HYMN

Hosanna in the Highest!
Our eager hearts acclaim
The prophet of the kingdom
Who bears Messiah's name!

O bold, O foolish peasants,
To deem that he should reign!
The temple and the palace
Look down in high disdain.

Jerusalem lies fallen,
And pilgrims wail her pride.
The golden words of Jesus
Have travelled far and wide.

Long ages dim the message,
And custom has sufficed
For merchants and for princes
To bow, and own him Christ.

But when a brother spirit
Arises from the plain,
The men of power tremble,
And crucify again.

O first of many prophets
Who come of simple folk
To free us from our bondage,
To break oppression's yoke.

Restore our eyes from blindness,
Make clear the life, the way
That leads through love and justice
Unto the peace-crowned day!

—*John Howland Lathrop.*

## WEATHER—AND WAR

It was a beautiful spring and summer in England and on the continent. Flying weather was never better. Bombing, therefore, was carried on under most advantageous conditions, and fair skies rained down such tempests of missiles as not even the fiercest outbreaks of nature had ever known. No lightning blasts, nor earthquakes, nor volcanic eruptions could have done to London what the Germans have done in quiet, sunny days and on soft, moonlit nights. But now the weather is turning bad again. The English and French coasts are shrouded in mists of drizzling rain, low banks of clouds hide the horizon, harsh gales blow up the Channel, and waves pound heavily upon the shore. Conditions are not so easy for bombing; and, as winter draws on, naval and military operations will become difficult, and for a while impossible. So men everywhere abroad are praying for a winter of such cold and storms as that region of the globe has never known. Thus is nature, even at her worst, proved kind as compared with the cruelty and hate of man! Meanwhile, in this part of the world, weather may be beautiful and still not frightening. All during this summer we have welcomed the warm, clear nights, blessing the sun for its radiance and the darkness for its soothing balm of sleep. In the winter we know that we can await with confidence those midnights of biting cold when the stars seem to burn with a silvery splendor which is indeed celestial, and men are happy because there is warmth in their hearts and on the hearthstones, and security beneath the bending skies of God. If we would have something like a final condemnation of war, do we not find it here in man's disharmony with nature when he is fighting with his fellows? Men were meant to work with nature, not against her; and to acclaim her moments of calm and beauty, not of violence and storm. If we are most in danger when nature is most beneficent, and most safe when nature is most terrible, then have we not indeed brought down upon our heads the primal curse? Alas, that we should so defy God, and thwart his blessed will!

## RELIGION AND PACIFISM

The *Christian Register,* convinced of the holiness of this war and eager apparently to get into it, is quite scornful of our recent editorial on "If the Worst Happens" (UNITY, September 2, page 3). It wants to know why, if it is necessary or advisable to build up spiritual defenses against disaster, it is silly to build up military defenses against the same disaster. The *Register,* of course, quite misses the point that, if one has adequate spiritual defenses, one need not be worried or concerned about the material vicissitudes of this world. Gandhi has proved, in the grand succession of the prophets from Jeremiah and Jesus to St. Francis and Tolstoi, that soul-force is omnipotent and therefore all-sufficient. But the *Register* thinks this is just plain "nonsense," which is interesting. A religious journal setting down a plea for pure religion as nonsensical! But we do not know why we should be surprised at this attitude. The logic of the war-mind is of course anti-religious—it must repudiate religion if it is to hold together at all! By the same token, the logic of the peace-mind, the pacifist

mind, is religious, for the root of fundamental pacifism is religion. Pacifism has other viewpoints—that war is wasteful, ineffectual, inhumane. But its basic indictment of war is the spiritual indictment—that it is a pagan denial of God, and of the soul, and of the law of love for men. We have certain texts which are favorites of ours as showing the religious context of pacifism. One, which we would particularly commend to the Editor of the *Christian Register,* is "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul" (*Matthew* 10:28). Another is Paul's dictum, "Love never faileth" (*I Corinthians* 13:8). Still another is the sublimest of all texts, "If God be for us, who can be against us" (*Romans* 8:31). When this last text was spoken by a Quaker at a Senate hearing on the conscription bill, the senators laughed. The Editor of the *Christian Register* has also laughed. To him, as to the senators, all this is "nonsense." But to the pacifist, let it be said, this is none other than the bread of life. The world agrees, of course, with the *Christian Register*—and look at the world today! The pacifist, in all humility, insists there is a better way.

## THE CANDIDATE FOR THE PACIFISTS

It is perfectly obvious by this time that there is only one candidate in this presidential campaign for pacifists —for all those, whether pacifists or not in doctrine, who want to keep this country out of war and thus at peace. This candidate is the Socialist, Norman Thomas. In matters of foreign policy, as tested by one specific issue after another, Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt are entirely agreed. The Republican candidate made it plain, in his acceptance speech, that he did not like at all the President's spirit and temper, his way of doing things in relation to other nations; but he made it equally plain that he was one with the President in his interpretation of neutrality as implying and including unlimited preparedness for war and help for Britain in the European struggle in all ways "short of war." This general attitude has been clarified by two specific instances of administration policy. The one was peacetime military conscription as embodied in the Burke-Wadsworth Bill. Mr. Roosevelt, of course, endorsed this bill—and Mr. Willkie did the same. The two candidates stood shoulder to shoulder in support of a measure which was a long step straight through the open door to war. The second test was that of Mr. Roosevelt's action in turning over fifty U. S. Navy destroyers to Britain in return for the lease of naval bases in British territory in this hemisphere. The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* called this an "insane performance . . . an act of war," which made Mr. Roosevelt "America's first dictator." Even the New York *Daily News* called it "a virtual act of war against Germany." But Mr. Willkie, while rebuking the President for taking his action without securing the approval of Congress or permitting prior public discussion, gave his approval to "the program to add to our naval and air bases and assistance given to Great Britain." In this most critical hour of the nation's history, in other words, the overwhelming peace sentiment of America has no leadership. In the one most important issue in this campaign, the candidates of the two great parties stand together for war, or all things next to war. If we had to choose between Mr. Willkie and Mr. Roosevelt on this issue, we would choose Mr. Willkie, for we still think him the less dangerous of the two men. But we do not have to choose! Here is Norman Thomas, opposed to conscription, opposed to the destroyers deal, and pledged to keep America out of war.

## A BIT OF THEIR OWN MEDICINE

Nothing in a long time has struck us so funny as the New York *Times* yelling to high heaven in protest against the industrial conscription feature of the Burke-Wadsworth Bill, recently enacted by Congress. The *Times,* be it remembered, was the newspaper that launched the peacetime military conscription measure. It was all for giving the government full authority to register the manpower of the nation under the command of the army, for the selection of the best young men for service. Then the bill was amended to give the government equal authority to conscript industry. And did the *Times* yelp! It was all right to seize men and train them for the life-and-death business of war, but it was all wrong to seize business and make it work for the nation on the nation's terms. The *Times,* in other words, got more than it bargained for—and it will continue to get more than it bargained for, now that peacetime conscription is established among us. For conscription is like creeping paralysis—once started it keeps right on, and on! Thus, organized labor stoutly opposed the military conscription measure. But, once the passage of this measure was certain, labor was glad to see the industrial conscription amendment tacked onto the bill. If lives, why not property? That is logical enough! But has labor thought the problem through? Does it realize that, after government has conscripted business to its purposes, it will then turn to the trade unions, and reduce the worker to the same status as the soldier, whose prime duty it is to obey orders? It is just as well, when starting upon a policy, to look straight to the end of what it really means. The *Times* did not do this in the case of military conscription. It thought that the government would be content to grab men, but never imagined for a moment that it would grab property. In the same way, great multitudes of people were persuaded to support military conscription as a necessary defense measure against the totalitarian dictatorships, and not yet do these people know that this very measure has itself opened wide the doors to totalitarian dictatorship right here at home. It is an old story, but the fable of the camel's head and the tent is still everlastingly true.

## CIVIL LIBERTIES IN TIME OF CRISIS

It is amazing, and frequently discouraging, to note how little the issues of civil liberties in a democracy are understood even by those who would perpetuate and defend them in time of crisis. A recent example of what we mean is the report of the Committee on the Bill of Rights to the American Bar Association Convention. This report had the admirable intention of warning as to the dangers to civil liberties in days like these. But the report itself went right on to adopt and sanctify some of these very dangers. Thus, it declared that organizations "hostile to our system and likely to engage in activities damaging to our national security . . . cannot be tolerated in time of danger." But this very principle is the basis of the suppression of all minority groups which are invariably described as "hostile to our system," and their "activities" as "damaging to our national security." Who in any case is to judge but the powers-that-be, and what is this but tyranny? Again, the report in question refers to the "perversion" of civil liberties, and to their use as a "screen to hide efforts to undermine our system." But what does this mean if not the open door to tyranny? Every group in power has resisted agitation and efforts for social change on the ground that such change would "undermine." There was a time when advocates of universal suffrage were regarded as subversive elements in our society; and at this very moment there are great interests which regard the pending child labor amendment as a measure undermining our system. In a letter calling attention to these points, the American Civil Liberties Union cites Britain's exemplary conduct in preserving the exercise of civil liberties in this hour of her direst peril. The Fascists in England have been suppressed, but only after clear evidence was in hand that they were working with the enemy. All other parties, including the Communists who are bitterly opposed to what they call the "imperialist war," are functioning without interference. Communist speakers orate in Hyde Park. The Communist *Daily Worker* is published and sold. We receive regularly from England the *Christian Pacifist* (organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation), the publications of the International War Resisters (headquarters in London), and a small but fiery journal published by English anarchists. If Britain can thus maintain democracy in the midst of her life-and-death struggle against the Nazis, surely America can do as much while still at peace.

## WOULD YOU BELIEVE IT?

The war jitters of this country still remain incredible. For example! It is now well over two months ago that Secretary Stimson said that England might collapse in thirty days. * * * President Roosevelt, dedicating the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, said that "the threat [of Germany] is as close to us today as was the threat to the frontiersman when hostile Indians were lurking on the other side of the gap." * * * While the Administrative Committee on National Defense of the city of Rochester was placing restrictions on visitors at key points along the city's water supply system, New York City was petitioning Governor Lehmann for a declaration of emergency closing its water-sheds to the public. * * * A black leather hatbox in the Third Avenue "El" station at Franklin Square, New York, was seized by the police, soaked for half an hour, then cautiously opened, to reveal, not explosives, as feared, but clothes, letters, check stubs and other miscellaneous items. * * * The Green Guards of America, Inc., an organization of women for the defense of this country against invasion, is holding practice shoots, with imitation parachutes as targets. * * * Lieut. Leon Shepard, head of the State Police Fingerprinting Bureau, in Maine, stated in a speech on "Fifth Columnists" before the Lions' Club in Bath that ninety-one fire-extinguishers in the Bath Iron Works had been found filled with gasoline. William S. Newell, President of the Works, replied that the story was "absolutely false," and Shepard confessed he had repeated a tale of which he had no direct knowledge. * * * The Government is taking over New England fishing vessels to serve as minesweepers in the next war. * * * Submarine nets have been laid in the harbor of San Francisco. * * * The Sheriff of Westchester County, New York, has asked the County Supervisors for $15,000 to investigate aliens suspected of Fifth Column activities. * * * President McAfee of Wellesley, famous college for women, has called meetings of the faculty and administration to prepare a coördinated program of national defense. * * * One thousand four hundred and ten (1,410) women rang 735,488 residential telephones in New York City in a campaign to organize "American Minute Women" to defend America and help Britain in the present war. * * * The women of Houston, Texas, are drilling with rifles to repel possible parachute invaders. * * * Mayor La Guardia, of New York, has announced that "New York City is prepared for actual warfare," and that "plans have been completed for the movement of troops through New York in the event of an invasion of New England." * * * *Would you believe it?* Well, you must, for these are instances of what is going on all over the country.

---

### My Country, Right!

My Country, right!
True to the laws of God and man,
Loyal to justice, fair to life,
Spurning the bigot's spiteful ban,
Holding the world in love's wide span,
Foe of fraternal strife.

My Country, wrong?
God grant that love may spare that fate;
But, if she errs, God make us wise
Humbly her faults to contemplate;
Thus may our meekness make her great,
Worthy in Freedom's eyes!

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK

# Jottings

Moses was not indispensable to the Israelites struggling toward the Promised Land; he died on Pisgah. Charles V was not indispensable to his great Catholic empire in the terrific days of the early Protestant Reformation; he resigned his throne. George Washington was not indispensable to America in the first weak days of the republic, when all the world was shaken by the French Revolution and its wars; he retired to Mt. Vernon after his second presidential term. *But*—Franklin D. Roosevelt today is indispensable!!

---

There are terrible laws against discouraging or interfering with enlistment in the United States Army. Are ministers discouraging or interfering with enlistment when they stand by conscientious objectors in their congregations? We shall find out before long now.

---

We are constantly hearing of the three B's in music—Bach, Beethoven and Brahms. Why not the three M's—Mozart, Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer; or the four S's—Schubert, Schumann, Strauss, and Sibelius?

---

Winston Churchill is coming into his own. Having written the life of his great ancestor, the Duke of Marlborough, he is now reliving it.

---

In the first year of the war the Nazis, according to their own figures, destroyed more English warships than there are warships in the English navy. It looks as though, in the second year of the war, according to their own figures, they are planning to shoot down more English fighting planes than the English have ever built, bought, or borrowed. There's nothing like figuring for yourself the losses of your enemies!

---

The Communists are opposed to military conscription—in *this* country, not in Russia! J. H. H.

---

# The Chances for Non-Violent Resistance

## A Study of Gandhi's Method in the West

RICHARD B. GREGG

Though it is trite to say that modern science and technology have shortened both time and space, one of the implications of that accomplishment seems to have been overlooked. The shortening of distance and time has resulted in a great speeding-up of all social processes. Since the industrial revolution, the age-old institution of legal slavery has been abolished and the equally ancient subjection of women has nearly ended. Social changes which in the time of the Roman Empire would have taken a century or more to develop come nowadays in five, ten, or fifteen years.

There is still another result from this acceleration of social processes. The so-called "practical" person is chiefly concerned with short-time problems, while the so-called "idealist" is interested rather in long-time problems. Since modern science and technology have shortened time and hastened social processes, many of the aims which formerly seemed remote and therefore "idealistic" have been brought so much nearer along with everything else that they have come within the range of the "practical" man and are already among the factors with which he must reckon. An example of this is Gandhi's invention of non-violent resistance as a method of solving great controversies.

As Lancelot Hogben showed in his *Mathematics for the Millions,* a technical invention usually does not appear until, added to the root idea, there is an intense social need for the invention. This is probably even more true of social inventions. Despite the almost universal entanglement in armaments, the revulsion of all peoples from war makes vivid the need and urge to find a better way to settle conflicts.

There is evidence outside of India that Gandhi's method is coming into the realm of the practical. We find it, for example, in the writing of Captain B. H. Liddell-Hart, former military expert of the London *Times,* a distinguished writer in military history and strategy. His ideas on the element of defense in military strategy may by some be considered mistaken, but at least he is not reckoned as a dreamer. He is a practical man. In the first chapter of his book, *Europe in Arms,* he admitted explicitly that non-violent resistance has, in certain instances, shown marked power. Being a military man, he naturally did not immediately abjure the military method; but by then, in that same chapter, begging British pacifists to come along with the Government and supply to the national effort what he considered to be the otherwise missing but necessary idealism, he impliedly admitted the moral weakness of military methods.

When military men as intelligent as Captain Hart begin to show that much lack of confidence in the military method, it is highly significant. The results of the present wars will deepen that distrust, and it will spread much further among the military men as well as among civilians.

When exhaustion from the present wars sets in and when the inevitable moral boomerangs zoom back upon the participants, there seems a fair likelihood that among all nations there will come not only a greatly intensified sentiment for peace but also much thinking and experimentation on other methods of settling great conflicts.

In the August, 1940, issue of *Asia,* Miss Margaret Mead stated that war is a social invention, for the purpose of solving certain problems of human power. She said that just as other inventions have been abandoned when they were outmoded, so war can be supplanted by another method of accomplishing the same ends, if the new method demonstrates a greater effectiveness.

In order to supplant war, the new method would not have to have a very wide margin of increased effectiveness. War itself is singularly ineffective. After every war there is not only a victor but a vanquished. For fifty per cent of the nations which use war, then, the method has always been a failure. We have ample authority for saying that in modern war even the victors lose more than they gain. In modern war, with its vast expense, destructiveness, indiscriminateness, and imprecision, even the victor nation is, on all counts except the technical military one, a loser.

It seems fair, therefore, to say that if non-violent resistance could prove effective in maybe only thirty per cent of the cases where it was tried, it should be able to supplant war. It might be claimed that in any struggle in which non-violent resistance were used on both sides there would also be a victor and a vanquished, and hence that with this method, too, there would be always less than fifty per cent of success. But in a struggle where non-violent resistance is used, even only by one side, both parties come out morally better than they were before. The losses are primarily the mistakes, falsities, and evils of both sides. Neither side is humiliated; both have gained in self-respect. Compared with war there is much less impoverishment and considerably less loss of life. For such reasons, it seems likely that before long an increasing number of people will be willing to take considerable risks experimenting with Gandhi's method.

Even though wars are raging in Europe, Asia, and Africa, and America is preparing, we may seriously ask: what prospects are there for the successful use of Gandhi's method of non-violent resistance?

The forces involved are too subtle, complex, vast, and unknown to permit any attempt to prophesy what actually will happen. But we can consider some of the conditions which probably must be fulfilled in order to make the use of non-violent resistance feasible.

There are two main doubts in regard to the practical use of non-violent resistance by nations in either the Occident or Orient. These are: (1) whether the required discipline could be developed among large masses of people; and (2) whether, even if such a discipline were widely developed, it would actually suffice to convert the groups who have economic and political control in the nations. Could it be effective against Nazis or Japanese?

The answer to both these questions is, I believe, affirmative. The discipline can be acquired by large masses of people. There are detailed methods of discipline which promise success in any country. There is good reason to believe in the persuasive power of the method, even against deeply entrenched interests or ruthless foes. But in an article such as this only a hasty sketch can be given, without supporting data.

Such disciplines would have to comply with several conditions. The disciplines would have to be flexible enough to be adaptable to the special traditions, habits, and culture of any nation, East or West. Despite such national differences, the various modes of discipline would have to be capable of creating in each nation using them the same general types of thought, sentiment, desire, and will, and a similar set of values—all promoting non-violent kinds of resistance and persuasion. The disciplines must be within the capacities of unlettered people as well as the academically educated, of women and young people as well as mature men. The disciplines must yield satisfactions to many degrees and kinds of intelligence and emotional nature.

The means, methods, and manner of such disciplines must all conform to the principle that what determines the character of the end finally achieved is not so much the initial aim as the character of the means employed.

Disciplinary methods are ways of habit formation, which involve crowding out and eliminating some former habits and supplanting them with new habits. We may not be able to alter human nature, but the changes in human character wrought by education and by military discipline itself prove that we can profoundly alter the ways in which human nature responds to certain stimuli. Because the old habits of divisiveness, fear, anger, selfishness, aggression, and violence lie very deep in human nature, their control and the guiding of the energy behind them into new channels can be secured only by disciplines which operate at all levels. The supplanting of war will be so deep a cultural change as to require great changes not only in institutions and social relations but also in individual character.

Such disciplines must engage physical activity and creative manual labor. They must recognize the weaknesses of human nature and the corrupting effect of power on those who use it. They must give exercise and satisfaction to the bodily senses. They must include the mind, emotions, sentiments, moral faculties, and reach clear down to the absolute or fundamental assumptions and presuppositions, the assumptions that are too deep for proof and logically precede all reasoning. Though metaphysically such assumptions are most profound, nevertheless they are in the same realm as simple faith, of which a child or unlettered person is as capable as the most highly educated philosopher. Those who take part must understand the relation of the details of the discipline to non-violent resistance. They must see it as a unified pattern of effort. Lastly, such disciplines must be capable of being carried on in some degree through fifteen or twenty years of fascist repression.

What specific means and modes of discipline would satisfy these conditions?

Separate elements of the disciplines about to be described have all been used effectively by various peoples at different times. Some of these methods have been used successfully by Gandhi. Those which have not been used by him are designed to create attitudes of mind, heart, and will which already exist among his Indian followers, as a result of tradition or other disciplines. Other methods are designed to enhance the sort of morale which is necessary to the method. Their combination and present formulation are merely to clarify our problem.

The primary means for securing the discipline is voluntary organization of a large number of people into small neighborhood groups numbering not over twelve each. The groups must be small in order to be efficient, and in order to maintain in daily operation within the group democracy, freedom from coercion, respect for personality, and the processes of non-violent persuasion. Under Fascism these groups would have to shrink, probably to two or three members per group, and exist, except occasionally, without coördination with other similar groups. Normally these small groups must be integrated into a large, inclusive organization. But, again, the means and manner of integration must be

not coercive but persuasive. The coördination must rest on understanding, consent, and authority that is not financial but intellectual and moral.

Each group should engage in activities of four kinds, or at four levels. These four levels are: (1) discursive group thinking; (2) deliberate cultivation of specific sentiments; (3) manual work for community use; and (4) silent meditation.

First, each group should engage in thinking by discussion in which all the members share. The topic may be any problem of interest or concern to the public or to the group. The meaning and applications of non-violent persuasion would probably be the most important topic. The discussion in some instances may be initiated by reading aloud some article or a chapter of a book. An example of the effectiveness of this procedure is found in the coöperative movement of Nova Scotia. There the promoters organized all over the countryside small study groups which studied and discussed coöperation and its methods for a whole year before any actual coöperatives were started. Now the coöperatives there are flourishing and strong. This method of building up group opinion is of the essence of democracy. It promotes patience, tolerance, and respect for personality.

Second, each group should deliberately cultivate a set of sentiments, a type of morale, which will promote and sustain non-violent resistance. Some of these qualities and sentiments, such as courage, loyalty, devotion, subordination to a large ideal, unity, self-respect, will be like those of the soldier, but deeper and more inclusive. Additional necessary sentiments would be good will, kindness, mutual respect for personality, trust, tolerance, patience.

Sentiments are organized systems of emotions and ideas. Many specific emotions cannot be manufactured to order, but certain ideas can be selected, dwelt upon, and studied in all their aspects and relationships. Since the elements of our character do not exist in separate compartments, every idea has associated with it a certain fringe of characteristic emotions. If the idea is examined, retained, and continuously studied, its characteristic emotions will attend it, and presently will group themselves in appropriate patterns. Then, lo, we have established a sentiment.

In addition to such dwelling upon certain ideas which are productive of non-violence, there are other well-tested means of creating emotion and sentiment. Group singing is one. Recital of stories of great deeds and heroic action is another. Growth of desirable sentiments is stimulated by reading aloud or reciting fine poetry. Walking together and eating together promote common understanding and unity, as does being sociable together around an open fire. Folk dancing is also a useful practice.

The third kind of group activity should be manual work of some sort for the benefit of the community, or of other individuals needing help. Such work creates unity among the group members and in the community. Its psychological effects go very deep, as is evidenced by the use of "occupational therapy" to cure certain types of mental derangement. In the form of spinning it is a part of Gandhi's movement. Pierre Ceresole uses manual work in his International Service organization. For ages, armies and religious orders have used manual work as a discipline.

The fourth type of discipline should be silent meditation. Some people think meditation is esoteric; some think it futile and foolish; some think it dangerously introvertive and "escapist." Done rightly, it is none of these, but merely a method of using some intangible powers and potentialities that we all possess but usually in modern times have disregarded and been unaware of.

Everyone will admit that a large part of his experience is mental and emotional—that is, "inner." From psychiatry we know what distortion and crippling of action can come from a disordered self. Man must attain peace among the conflicting impulses within himself before he can be self-controlled enough to help make peace between himself and other people. If so, surely a careful attempt to create and maintain order in that inner world is not mistaken. And in these catastrophic days we cannot leave the attainment of such poise to chance or to merely exterior influences.

Among non-religious people the meditation may be on non-religious topics, such as the meaning and applications of certain sentiments, an attempt to sort out and eliminate inconsistencies of character, an attempt to arrange one's personal desires and inherited characteristics into a pattern consistent with one's chief purpose and non-violent in its results, a weighing and comparing of certain values, an analysis of one's fundamental assumptions and their implications. Among religious people not only the foregoing subjects but also religious values, topics, and assumptions would be pondered. In the realm of values and fundamental assumptions which logically precede and underlie all our experience, the distinction between secular and religious becomes thin. Such silent meditation operates at a deeper level than discursive thought and develops deeper unities and deeper and stronger foundations of character. Compared with individual meditation, the practice of meditation in a group is easier, more encouraging, reassuring, and mutually supporting, and productive of a finer and profounder unity.

If in some groups silent meditation proves impossible, simple vocal forms of non-institutional religious worship may be used instead.

These four kinds of discipline have fewer inner inconsistencies and are more inclusive and thorough than those of the military type. Used intensively and regularly over a period of three or four years with wise leadership, these disciplines would therefore create a morale deeper, stronger, and more effective than that of soldiers.

Dominant characters exist everywhere. If they have grown up in a discipline and atmosphere of courageous non-violence, they will become leaders of a movement using that method.

These disciplines could all be carried on by individuals and also perhaps by very small groups even during a fascist regime. There is ground for expecting the rapidity of all modern social change to modify all the existing totalitarian regimes enough to permit the existence within them of coördinated efforts for non-violence within another fifteen or twenty years at the most.

These disciplines would be especially effective and easy of application in any part of Asia. Asiatic peoples, more than Occidentals, are still used to village life and small-scale organization. Folk singing, folk dancing, recitals of epic poetry and folk tales are still prevalent in Asia. Manual work still predominates. Meditation is commonly practiced. The sense of human unity is stronger in Asia than in the West. Also in the deeds of Gandhi, an Asiatic struggling against a Western

power, they have a source of faith and hope, and a noble living exemplar.

We now come to the question of the persuasiveness of the method. Its effectiveness lies not in its power of coercion but in its power of true and thorough persuasion. The processes of persuasion, intellectual, emotional, and moral, are more complex, subtler, and less understood than those of habit formation. In so far as doubt is due to incomplete understanding of its operation, the doubt as to persuasive power is therefore not so easy to answer conclusively as the doubt about disciplinary effect. But we know enough to state some of the psychological *modus operandi* of this kind of persuasion.

One of the deeply persuasive elements of non-violent resistance is its respect for personality. If we may judge from people's daily actions and from the dying bequests of rich men and the debts which poor people will assume in order to provide impressive funerals for a deceased family member, the desire for dignity and for the respect of fellow creatures is a deep and strong motive. Another strong human desire is for a sense of human unity. This also is strongly implied in the non-violent way. Again, the relief from physical fear is attractive. Another profound and persistent human need is for a sense of significant order. In contrast with the results of modern large-scale violence, non-violent persuasion, especially in its constructive discipline, has, in respect to the desire for significant order, a strong appeal. The mutual trust created by non-violence is more effective than military methods to bring about the professed aim of all military operations—namely, to establish a better peace. The lack of violence appeals to the great middle class, including its technicians. Also, we have the marked relative lack of destruction of property, of human life, and of health which characterize this method as compared with war. Such elements as these contain the promise of a better society, a sounder and more self-consistent State, a better pattern or *gestalt* for community energy to operate in. These elements are together powerfully persuasive.

Supplementing these brief psychological suggestions, we know that this method has actually "converted" many opponents, including military men of various nationalities. That, in the Indian instance, it has not yet altered deeply the will of the British ruling class may be explained partly by the immensity of the issues, the age of imperialism as an institution, the fact that groups always change more slowly than individuals, and the fact that the method works by the cumulative effect of many repetitions of stimuli.

The doubt whether the method would work against Japanese can now be answered only in part. Non-violent Kagawa has had a moral effect upon the Japanese Government. Much of the cruelty of the Japanese soldiers toward the Chinese may be explained as the release of pent-up resentment caused by frustrations and humiliations involved in the very restrictive Japanese culture. That type of cruelty is ameliorated when the respect for personality expressed by non-violent resistance assuages the old humiliations and resentments of the cruel persons. Even animals admire courage; so of course do the Japanese soldiers. Masses of Chinese showed marvelous non-resistance and heroic endurance, but we do not know that masses of them showed disciplined, organized, mass *non-violent resistance*. The further doubt whether non-violent resistance would work against German Nazis is covered by the fact that Germans successfully used non-violent resistance against Germans in the attempted Kapp Putsch of about 1921, and earlier against the French in the Ruhr. And we should remember that in Nazi Germany the Quakers have been less interfered with than any other religious group.

Violence is effective against people of all cultures. In like manner, if it is used anywhere with equal faith, courage, discipline, devotion and persistence, non-violent resistance will prove still more effective.

---

# Stand Up, America!

HAROLD P. MARLEY

America, why are you preparing for a war—a conflict on a greater scale than the world, much less yourself, has ever known? You are building a two-ocean navy, putting wings on your youth, and enrolling your vast man power for the fray. Fifth column hearsay is rampant, industries are guarded, and Republicans have been added to the New Deal cabinet.

It is a huge and total drive to make America ready—a drive which is getting into the public mind. Youngsters go to the penny arcades and shoot enemy planes on a dozen different devices. At the movie lot they are shooting full-length pictures on the importance of preparedness, just as in 1916. A man takes his gun from the corner and shoots his neighbor, claiming the fellow acted strangely and must have been a spy.

You are getting ready for war, but what war? Is all this smoke a screen to cover up water-logged conditions, or is there fire somewhere? Is the premise on which the military-millions is appropriated, a correct one? If not, then America, you are playing with fire. You are risking the very things you fain would protect, for military jags always have their hangover.

There is not only the money angle. You can probably dig up the gold somewhere to pay the billions for those cruisers, tanks, and planes which you are making or picking up on the used-ship lot. The people themselves will dig down and pay the nuisance taxes to underwrite most of it. But, do you know what is happening to your industries? Can you not see that this sudden swing to heavy industries (U. S. Steel Corporation sales increased 2500 per cent the first quarter of 1940) is not doing the consumer-industries any good. You are turning out more steel, but what about bricks and cement—more bullets, but what of bread? You are getting a pseudo-prosperity, but not the steady comeback a convalescent should have. In fact, by letting your peace-industries slip and by gearing to a war-economy, you are doing exactly what that Hitler man wants you to do. He does not care how many ships you build. He has no intention of joining them in combat over here and he knows they will not be used in European waters.

Therefore, der Fuehrer reasons, let America prepare! Let her get ready for a war. By the time she is ready,

I will be through. My conquests will be over and I will be primed to put my new empire to work. We will have such a balance of agriculture and industry that we can produce quickly and efficiently for the world market. America, he will sneer, will wake up too late. They will have the necessary military equipment to capture markets by force, but they will not have the nerve to do so. Their morals—the same ones which got them into the last war to make the seas free—will deter them more effectively than my crippled axis fleet. They will not even have the fun of using all their expensive Fourth of July toys.

Suddenly, reasons this man of destiny, Uncle Sam will decide he had better turn to his peace-industries knitting. He will ask workers still living in outmoded, nineteenth century houses, to work long hours for low pay, and, if they argue, he will do just what I did—abolish the Unions. Yes, says Hitler, go ahead and arm. See if I care.

So America, watch out! Beware of falling into a trap—a trap which no one abroad set for you, but which you laid yourself, unwittingly. It was not a deliberate plot which got you into this trap, but that same "We'll show 'em" indolence which made the Senate rush through the Japanese exclusion act in 1924. We Yankees cannot stand to have a chip knocked off our shoulder. This unanimity of purpose which we see today, this "I want to be ready" psychology, is all very good, but the timing is poor. Any caddie could tell us that we are not yet in the "rough."

The pit into which America is falling was really dug in the last war and was never filled in. It is baited with the outrageous conduct of a former enemy—a nation against whom we sent two million men overseas.

> I'll bring you a king and a kaiser, too,
> That's about all one feller can do,

sang the doughboys as they marched up the gangplank with these cavalier words resounding from the quay. We are strangely disturbed at the way Mr. Hitler treats minorities and runs down democracies. We listen to the true stories of the refugees and our righteous indignation flares into pronouncements against such things, and a re-uttering of the fourteen-point propositions of World War I. Deep down within us, however, we know that democracy is not set up through conflict—a democracy is built, not born. Since our gigantic gesture for democracy, we have shot down at factory gates workers who were armed only with petitions.

Actually, the jaws of the trap are more to the point than the pit or the bait. The thing which will really trip us up is the old, old question of property—those French, English, and Dutch possessions not only in this Hemisphere, but in the East Indies. These are lucrative repositories for exploitation, even though the companies which take over are Western Hemisphere Cartels, Inc. America, you do not need your prospective armada of sea and air forces just to protect the people in New York and Kansas. You are told that you must be a steward. The New Testament tells you that the wise steward brought back the original talent with interest, and you believe the Bible. Yes, even the Holy Book will help get you into this trap, for it is easy to see that church people are against violent methods only when there is no threat of violence. They do not really believe that to "take up the sword is to perish by the sword."

Wait! Is there no restraining hand, somewhere? If we are heading in a precarious direction, someone must see it. If an economic issue of war-economy versus peace-economy is involved, surely the economists are alert to it. If a political crisis is threatened which will throw us into the arms of Fascism, whether Roosevelt or Willkie is elected, does not some independent political movement cry out? And on the moral side—the robbing of the people of true security on earth by herding them into dungeons of preparedness—who speaks out for the people? Indeed, this is the focal point of the whole thing. Leave economics and politics aside—what about human values? In this field there is hope for America. A few see the problem and are trying to make their protests heard.

Here is a writer who publishes a little information sheet of facts which are either buried or overlooked. Yonder is a professor or preacher who speaks at an open forum, pointing out the dangers of following in the footsteps of the ill-fated German Republic with its Nazis, or the French Republic with its Cougelards. A youth convention smells a totalitarian mouse, shies away from the leadership of a former athlete, and passes pacifistic resolutions. Some of the opposition is emotional, merely the conscientious objection to killing. More significant and positive is that which is based on an understanding of living, which has a plan of social reconstruction along with its opposition to mass butchering.

When the khaki officials actually get around to taking the youth off to training camps, there will be a storm of protest. Many, following the lead of scores of English youth in the early days of the war, will not go. "Send me to Leavenworth, but as to war, count me out," they will say, for "the Yanks are not coming." This will not help the war-resisting youngsters much, as they will always be stigmatized as cowards in spite of the absence of a visible enemy to cow them. But their consciences will be kept intact, while others will promptly lose theirs in the months of intensive military study. Ask an instructor at an airfield where Taylor cub planes ply overhead with rookies aboard, "What will all these kids do when they learn to fly and there is no war?" "It's OK, they'll buy flying time from us."

But will they? Would they not rather have a system of government where they fly for nothing—protectors of the status quo? It is easy to picture them as valiant bombers, unloading on the working class quarters, as in Barcelona. In other words, it is no joke, this military jag. Instead of educating for democracy, we are training against it. We cannot save democracy by undemocratic methods. We in America miscalculate if we think this is a Hitler victory in Europe. Rather, it is the defeat of an old order. The axis Fuehrer is merely pushing down a system which was ready to fall anyway. The tragedy is that he directs the salvaging and gives the word to the firing squad. Why be surprised at what is happening, or emotional over something as inevitable as the weather? What we see today is really the prints from negatives which have been in Europe's dark room for at least a decade.

America, you need no Maginot Line. It could not frustrate reaction. Your defense is not in a Mannerheim Line. It could not hold back the progressive tides of human change. Do not confuse your destiny with the pictures on the recruiting posters. Turn your face toward the open road. It is your destiny. It is the

thing which made you great in the beginning—the frontier and people with the frontier-spirit. It can do for you today what it did then. Find your new frontiers —your rehabilitation projects, dams, and model cities, yet to be built; schools, yet to become community centers where democracy is practiced; churches, yet to achieve coördination of the arts, and an integration of them with new and unpopular truths. Make the factory wheels and the sharp plow function in harmony, under a new spirit of collectivism. Take all that Nature has given you and hammer it into a triumphant new world symphony.

America, do not run madly about as though you manned a sinking ship. Stop this rush to the military lifeboats. Why go down singing your requiem, "God Bless America"? Stand up and fight, Gulliver, fight with your bare hands. You have just begun your travels.

---

# Peace Pioneering in New Zealand

MARIE H. ALLEN

There are those in New Zealand, as in every country, who cherish the hope that the mind of man has reached a development which makes it possible for nations, like individuals, to solve the problem of living together without the slaughter and waste of war. None of the groups carrying on organized peace work merely wishes to evade difficult international issues or ignore realities of world politics. They are affiliated to worldwide bodies which continually labor to eradicate the underlying causes of war, of race and economic and international inequality, and of social injustice generally. They are doing much to keep democracy alive and alert, and to build a society unfavorable to dictatorship. They would attempt, if they had the power, to remove such tyrannies as that of the Nazis by tactics likely to weaken the hold of dictators over their people, rather than more strongly unite the people behind the dictators.

Three organizations, the Peace Pledge Union, the Christian Pacifist Society, and the Society of Friends, have not ceased because of the war to exert what influence they can upon the country. Organized over a year ago when four kindred spirits met together, the P.P.U., at the outbreak of war, had 73 members in Wellington and a North Island membership of 170, while in five places branches had been established. The Wellington branch of the C.P.S. numbers about 450. Arrangements have recently been made for the three groups to hold joint monthly meetings in the Friends' Meeting House.

"Many of us had hoped that we would perhaps become powerful enough in time to prevent another world war," the P.P.U. wrote in its first annual report, "but the present calamity has caught us, not unaware but in our early organized stage." Their activities included public meetings, discussion evenings, street meetings, and correspondence in papers and magazines in all centers, although on the whole the Wellington press was closed to them.

On the day before the outbreak of the war, members of the P.P.U. met at Friends' House and drew up a manifesto to the government expressing their stand then and in the event of war, and stating their view that war could not be justified under any circumstances and would create more problems than it solved. This was delivered to the Acting Prime Minister and later was printed and distributed to all members and eventually posted to all Members of Parliament.

In Kaitaia, a letter with 12 signatures was sent to local Members of Parliament asserting that while not condoning Hitler nor approving of Naziism, they could not support war as a method of eliminating evil, since it was so great an evil in itself. In other towns, similar steps were taken.

On Monday, after war had been declared, the Reverend O. E. Burton of the Christian Pacifist Society, Neil Trail of the C.P.S. and the P.P.U., and Michael Young were arrested when addressing a public meeting outside Parliamentary grounds. They had refused to stop speaking and were charged with "obstructing the police." They would not accept bail or agree to refrain from further peace activity before their appearance in court. For a time they were confined and then sent out of town subject to recall. Returning by order, they were interviewed by the Acting Prime Minister, an old friend. He himself, with other members of the present cabinet, had been imprisoned during the last war. They agreed to his offer to furnish their bail. He also promised he would not permit them to be charged with sedition, but wished that they would no longer hold street meetings.

In court they were convicted and ordered to come up for sentence within twelve months if called upon. They refused acquittal by the magistrate at the price of agreeing not to continue activities. Mr. Burton was again arrested a few days later, when addressing an outdoor meeting. He was fined ten pounds, but refused to pay; his fine was eventually paid by a military friend.

The *New Zealand Standard,* substantial organ of the labor movement, commented, "In 1916, during the anti-conscription campaign, Mr. Webb and the late leader of the Labor Party, Mr. H. E. Holland, were arrested for addressing a street meeting in Wellington, and each was fined fifteen shillings. Cost of living has advanced heavily, for it cost the Reverend O. E. Burton ten pounds for the same offense under a Labor Government."

At first the crowds at open air meetings were "tough" and noisy, and the speakers were sometimes pushed off their box or had it pulled from under them. The police made no attempt to intervene. Someone asked once whether the speakers had a permit. The police replied, "Permits are only for keeping a check and preventing meetings clashing." "Then anyone can start a meeting anywhere?" inquired the questioner. The answer of the police was "Yes." Whereupon a burly man pushed one of the speakers off his box and mounted it, saying he had just as good a right to be there. But the intruder had the grace to climb down when the speaker pointed out that the box belonged to him, for he had paid fourpence for it!

In later meetings police officers interfered more actively, ordering every speaker to stop, and taking names when they continued. Occasionally the leaders had to "protect" the officers from the crowd, which was sympathetic to the speaker, by explaining that they were to be respected as men doing what they believed

to be their duty, "even if we disagree with them and even if there are times when we must obey God rather than man." Finally at a street meeting of the P.P.U. the speakers were arrested and brought to trial. During the hearings the point was made that the object of the police was not really to break the meeting up on the charge of obstruction, but rather to stop people who were pacifists from airing their views.

That night another street meeting was held and no police action was taken. Soldiers mobbed the speaker, however, and the meeting had to be abandoned. At a subsequent meeting of the C.P.S., soldiers slit with a knife the back of the overcoat of the minister who was speaking, but there were no serious consequences. Both the P.P.U. and the C.P.S. have continued to hold these weekly meetings, and have reached in this way thousands who otherwise would never have been "exposed" to such ideas. Often they have won regular followers who go from one meeting to another; sometimes new members have been added from these audiences.

Twice the mail of the P.P.U. was seized and confiscated. Letters of protest sent to all Labor M.P.'s, giving the details, were given friendly, sometimes even sympathetic, but always evasive, answers. Later the Postmaster General ruled that circulars of the society could not be accepted for transmission by post, or distributed within New Zealand. Activity increases notwithstanding, and the number of supporters likewise. It is reported that several Methodist clergymen have received six months' notice, as a result of anti-militarist activities.

It is an admittedly uphill struggle that these peace pioneers are carrying on. Sometimes they complain, mildly, that even their own supporters are not doing all they could to back them up. Scoffers there are aplenty. But sometimes even the skeptics come to admit their work worthwhile. A minister, for example, attended one C.P.S. conference, and wrote afterwards: "Their untiring advocacy of peace and the deeper realities which make for peace, I, in common with others, have not always agreed with. . . But I am prepared to acknowledge that right has been largely on their side. Had they been as quiet as some of us, pacifism as a force within or without the churches would be a very frail plant and likely to get more frail."

"I want to make a claim," he continued, "for what the C.P.S. has accomplished for civil liberty. In a country where freedom again is in danger of being swallowed up, the Society has saved for us some vestige of freedom."

The unfaltering spirit of these pioneers flashes through a brief little message they recently sent to their distant associates in England, where men and women of their viewpoint must be counted by the hundreds of thousands: "Courage in the face of adversity; determination to stand for truth and respect of human personality; faith in the ultimate victory of truth and reason."

---

# On the Pacifist Front

[UNITY will publish from time to time, under this heading, such news as can be gathered about pacifists and pacifist activities in these war days. We earnestly invite our readers to send us such items of interest as may come to their attention.—*Editor.*]

XXIII

The *Osservatore Romano,* the Vatican organ, celebrated the first anniversary of the beginning of the second World War with a summary of the Pope's work for peace during this year of conflict. A special dispatch from Rome in the New York *Times* reports this feature as follows:

One ray of light in the whole dark year of war, writes *Osservatore Romano* in its summary of Vatican activity, in that period, was the "work of the Vicar of Christ representing the Prince of Peace."

The long article reviews the speeches and messages of the Pope, his efforts to prevent the war and later to bring peace, and what he has done to alleviate suffering.

"It could be said that not for one day from that day of mourning on September 1 has the Vicar of Christ failed to act for the great cause of the reconciliation of peoples," says the *Osservatore,* "to limit the extent of the conflict, to safeguard those who are in danger of being dragged in and to alleviate the suffering that every war brings with it."

The article then lists the important speeches dealing with the war, starting with that of September 14 to the Belgian Ambassador. The last important pronouncement of the year was the Pontiff's Christmas sermon with its five-point peace program calling for national rights to existence, disarmament, and a new international body like the League, treaty revision where necessary and obedience to the divine law.

---

The Associated Press publishes a dispatch from Tokio announcing the arrest of Toyohiko Kagawa, as follows:

Toyohiko Kagawa, Japan's best-known Christian leader and social worker, has been arrested on a charge of violating the military code.

Articles submitted to various American religious periodicals and speeches by Mr. Kagawa are being examined in a rigorous preliminary investigation, authorities disclosed tonight.

Mr. Kagawa, 52 years old, a graduate of the Princeton University Divinity School, and his chief assistant, the Reverend Kiyosumi Ogawa, were arrested on August 25, but this was kept secret until today.

Sometimes called the "Gandhi of Japan," Mr. Kagawa gained world-wide renown for his social work in the slums of Kobe, Western Japan's chief seaport. He also was a leader in the formation of the Japan Farmers Guild. Many of his books have been translated into English.

His work among laborers and peasants frequently has brought him into friction with authorities suspicious of such movements, which are considered radical in Japan. The recent nationalist resurgence, which brought any movement with an international outlook into disfavor, apparently intensified his difficulties.

---

The New York *Times* publishes the following special dispatch from London:

John Stafford Cripps, son of Sir Stafford Cripps, Left-Wing Socialist, who is serving as British Ambassador to Moscow, has been registered by the Conscientious Objectors Tribunal as exempt from military service on condition that he does work of national importance.

Mr. Cripps, who is under 30, said war was irreconcilable with the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. He will continue with agricultural work, in which he is considered an expert, and he must actually work in the fields two days a week under the court's ruling.

---

An Associated Press dispatch from Chautauqua, New York, reports as follows an address by Harold E. Fey

before the twenty-fifth annual conference of the Fellowship of Reconciliation:

American pacifists are "going to stand out against the principle of conscription, refusing to allow ourselves to be regimented for war," the Reverend Harold E. Fey, of Chicago, field editor of the *Christian Century* asserted tonight.

"We say now that we would rather die than kill," he said.

Approval of the "principle of peacetime conscription" by both houses of Congress, he observed, means that "Fascism has won its first great victory in American life," making the "first step toward totalitarianism which we are preparing to fight."

---

The *Christian Century* publishes the following from its Philadelphia correspondent:

Ministers and churches in the Philadelphia area have been invited by the Reverend Paul J. Kirsch, assistant pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Holy Communion, who is vice-chairman of the Philadelphia branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, to work with a Board for Conscientious Objectors, coöperating with the Friends and the W. I. L., to offer moral and spiritual counsel to and defense of conscientious objectors to military service. Laymen, especially lawyers, are also desired on this board. It is hoped "to quicken the sense of church people to the great dangers involved in peacetime conscription."

---

The American Friends Service Committee has announced a volunteer service work for pacifists, as follows:

For young people of America who will volunteer a year's service in training to serve humanity by non-violent methods in the present world crisis, the Quakers are developing camps which bid fair to become the pacifist equivalent of military training. On August 1, a year-round work camp was opened at Cooperstown, N. Y. By October 1, it is planned to open other camps in the Middle West, in the Far West and in the Laguna region of Mexico. If the enrollment warrants, additional camps will be organized in rapid succession.

The camps are not for Quakers alone, but designed "for young people of all faiths and denominations who, rooted in the principles of religious freedom of conscience, will dedicate themselves to one year's voluntary service for the public good, to strengthen our nation and democracy through self-discipline and self-sacrifice and to express the highest ideals of Christian patriotism, by engaging in constructive and peace-creating service for the state and our fellow men."

Each volunteer will be expected to enroll for a full year's service and to provide, if possible, his own expenses. Obviously, many cannot afford the burden of self-support while working without pay. These, it is hoped, will be financed by their churches, interested groups, and concerned individuals. Contributions from individuals, churches, and organizations will be needed to defray the maintenance costs of volunteers who cannot support themselves. It has been the Committee's experience that this method of financing volunteer workers greatly strengthens the significance of the service. The cost will be $1.00 a day per person.

Although the National Volunteer Service will be administered by the American Friends Service Committee, a national advisory board representing various denominations and affiliated organizations including the F. O. R. will relate the service to religious and peace groups throughout the United States. Inquiries for literature and applications for service should be addressed to National Volunteer Service, American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

---

The *Conscientious Objector* (New York) publishes the following report about conditions in England:

Conscientious objectors in Great Britain since the start of the war totaled 47,000 or 1.4 per cent of the number of men registered according to the latest figures made available to the House of Commons by Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labor and National Service.

Local tribunals empowered to try the consciences of pacifists reported the following analysis of their decisions up to June 1: Unconditionally exempted, 1,751 (11 per cent); conditionally exempted, 6,790 (42 per cent); non-combatant duties, 4,571 (27 per cent); placed unconditionally on Military Service Register, 3,309 (20 per cent). Total, 16,601.

A movement is in progress to purge the municipal governments of conscientious objectors. Members of town, city, and borough councils are urging the dismissal of COs with special emphasis on the teaching professions.

*Peace News,* organ of the Peace Pledge Union, reported that despite strong agitation for the expulsion of COs from government jobs, some councils decided against it while others made provisos prohibiting COs from wearing badges indicating objection to war and lowered the wages of others to the soldier's billeting allowance of not more than a pound a week.

The first CO in the armed forces to refuse to wear a uniform was tried by a Glasgow court martial and sentenced to 28 days. The prosecuting officer said that conscience was quite irrelevant in a court room.

---

The United Pacifist Committee, which has established in New York a consultation service for those who feel that they cannot participate in war or be conscripted, has announced the organization of a National Board for Conscientious Objectors, to extend the New York service to the nation at large.

---

A News Letter of the British Fellowship of Reconciliation (London) publishes the following letter from E. Joy Hodgkin:

I have myself been thrilled to hear from friends in China, of the wonderful way Chinese Christians have been upheld and strengthened in their faith in God, even through days of humiliation and defeat. They seem to have been purged almost entirely from the spirit of vindictiveness and of self-pity, and to be set aflame with the desire to serve to the uttermost with all they have and are. A friend of ours who, after much thought and prayer, became convinced that the Christian pacifist position was the only rational one, still hesitated to join the F. O. R. lest in a time of testing she, like Peter of old, should fail and bring disgrace on the Fellowship and on her Master. After the trouble in Nanking when she had lost literally everything she possessed and faced the possibility of death itself, she came and said joyfully, "I *can* join the F. O. R. now, I have been through it and *know* God does not fail us." Some of us who lived under war conditions in other countries where there was no British navy in the offing, nor even an English Channel between us and danger, have been through it too and can testify to this same truth.

---

A press dispatch from Sydney, Australia, reports the following:

A police magistrate refused today to exempt from military service six young men, members of the Jehovah's Witnesses religious sect, who said they were ministers of religion. The plea was denied on the ground that they did not come under such a category within the meaning of Australia's defense act.

---

Kirby Page made a 17,000 mile lecture-trip this summer, speaking in seventy-five different communities in nineteen different states. He reports:

We were thrilled by the vitality of the Christian pacifist movement. Most well-seasoned religious objectors to war as a method have withstood the storm of fear and hysteria, while many other individuals have been impelled by the gravity of the crisis to make articulate their resolute determination not to approve or participate in war. In numbers and in robust vitality the religious movement against war has never been so encouraging, although it embraces only a small fraction of the total population. . . . Truly we are a part of a noble company of men and women scattered throughout thousands of communities across the continent and in other lands.

---

The *York Diocesan Leaflet,* published in England, presents the following statement by the Archbishop of York:

Several public bodies have lately passed resolutions terminating the employment of any persons working for them who have pleaded conscientious objection to military service.

I regard this as utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic. We are fighting for freedom, including freedom of conscience as its most vital and sensitive element. The

State has recognized the reality of conscientious objection to military service, and it is part of our glory that it does this.

---

The Peace Section of the American Friends Service Committee has published a pamphlet containing lists of specimen questions asked English conscientious objectors by the London tribunals. This pamphlet is entitled "The London Tribunal Questions the C. O." Copies at 5 cents each may be obtained at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

---

*Peace News* (London) publishes the following classified advertisement:

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 22 (quiet), would like to meet young lady same views. Box 505, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

---

A group of English citizens is calling upon the British government to state its peace terms. "Now, we believe, is the time when we should tell Germany and the world the terms on which we would make peace." Signatories to this appeal include John Middleton Murry, Clive Bell, George Catlin, James Avery Joyce, and Dame Sybil Thorndike.

---

An Associated Press dispatch from Carnegie, Pennsylvania, reports the following:

Because the flag salute is required at Carnegie High School this year, Walter B. Sterrett, 64, history teacher, resigned, saying "The salute is a spiritual preparation for war."

"My heart is with my country, but it isn't in teaching a flag salute to children," he said. "I would rather be dead than have to admit to myself that I had coaxed children into war."

---

The *American Theosophist* calls for the organization in this crisis of a "League for Humanity," as follows:

One may even now imagine the challenge of a preamble:

"We, the people of the world, finding our lives and our nations forced to interdependence by an unfolding planetary civilization, see the need for birth among all peoples of a common spirit of world citizenship to preserve the integrity of nations, and to guarantee to all people INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AND WORLD TRANQUILLITY. We dare to recognize that naught less than a confederation of the world family of nations will serve to fulfill this noble and necessary purpose, and that to accomplish such purpose a Voice must become articulate: THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD united in a LEAGUE FOR HUMANITY."

Let the League be created. Let its voice be heard. Let it cover the earth in a never-to-be-silenced cry for Justice, Liberty, and Peace. Let the demands and the pledges of the people be heard. Will they be such as these—and others?

We, the people of the world, pledge *Good will* among ourselves, and demand Good will among our governments.

We, the people of the world, pledge *good will* among ourselves, and demand good will among our governments.

We, the people, demand the creation of lawful bodies for the dispensation of international justice.

We pledge restraint from, and demand of governments the cessation of, organized persecution of any peoples as such by any government or nation of the earth.

We demand world disarmament and relief from the awful burden of armament debt.

We demand our release from the enforced superstition of militarism for its own sake, that nations may return to the joyous pursuit of their several cultures and individual growths.

We demand a leadership of wider vision and courage.

---

# The Study Table

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

### A Poetic Peace Drama

THE BLUE CAPE. *By Marion Craig Wentworth. Santa Barbara, California: J. F. Rowney Press.* 40*c per copy;* $3.50 *for ten copies.*

In the last war, twenty-five years ago, Mrs. Wentworth wrote a pacifist play, *War Brides,* which is as vividly remembered today as on the day when it was first published Now, in this current war, moved by the same impulses and ideals which dictated her earlier masterpiece, Mrs. Wentworth has written another memorable drama.

The theme of this play is protest against the supreme horror of contemporary warfare—the bombing of civilian populations, women, children, refugees. The scene set at any time between 1936 and 1940, is a court martial "in a war-torn country." Brought before this court is a brilliant young aviator, famous throughout the army for his bombing exploits against the enemy. To the amazement of everybody, he has suddenly refused to obey orders to bomb the enemy's capital city. The ace's statement of his reason for this fatal act of insubordination makes the substance and marks the climax of the drama—his love for his wife, Dorotea, the illness of his adored child, Pepita, his prayer before the Madonna with the blue cape for the child's recovery, his vision of the Madonna descending from her shrine and leading him to the enemy's country and showing him his own deeds in slaughtering children who are as dear as Pepita and as wonderful as her divine Son. "Inasmuch as you did it unto the least of these . . .!" The aviator rebels against the horror of his task, is condemned, and led away to execution.

A brief summary of this kind does no justice to a drama which is tense, tender, passionate, profoundly moving. The characters are vividly conceived; the action proceeds quickly from scene to scene; the text, written in free verse, is beautiful and exalted. The symbolism of the Madonna and Child is superbly handled. The play is admirably conceived for stage production, and would be a fine radio piece. (Copies may be obtained from Mrs. Catherine Rumball, 1813 Castillo Street, Santa Barbara, California.)

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

### Song from the Soil

TOIL AND HUNGER. *Poems by Don West. San Benito, Texas: Hagglund Press.*

Here is true poetry, sprung from the soil of earth and the heart of man. Jesse Stuart, himself a poet, tells us, in his Introduction to this little book, who the author is. Don West is a young man, with handsome, shining face (see frontispiece). He was born thirty-three years ago in Devil's Hollow, Gilmer County, Georgia, "a hillsman flesh and bone." Don's ancestors were all sturdy mountaineers, who have lived in the hills of Georgia for nearly two centuries. Don lived in his native village, twenty miles from the nearest railroad station, for the first sixteen years of his life, growing to his six-feet-three, excelling in sports through muscles hardened by sweaty toil, getting an education in the local schools and later at Vanderbilt. Then he broke away, became a hitch-hiker and globe-trotter, an ardent comrade in the ranks of labor, an agitator and rebel, but always a lover of his kind and a poet in his soul.

The poems in this book are limited in range and power, but poignant, passionate, powerful. They are essentially lyrics, cries from the heart, songs of the

eternal beauty and love that not even the hardest lot may quench. The note of protest is always present, as in the first piece, "This Book Begins":

Up, up, you toilers
And hear what I tell.
In a world of plenty
There's hunger and hell!

We dig and we water,
We weave and we sweat,
But when comes the harvest
It's little we get.

The material of the poems springs swift and clear and hot from Don West's own life and land and people. His family are here—his Dad and Mother, around whom cluster his early memories of "struggles to wrest a living from our little mountain farm. Life always seemed hard—like an iron fist mauling them in the face." His land is here—the tough soil, the mountains, the South which he loves, all America which he "holds in [his] heart." Thus, the lines, "And I sing":

Of a highland people—
The common folks—
Of corn-blades, crab-grass,
Top-fodder,
And a clean-plowed furrow.
I sing of a place
Where toil and hunger
Sleep in the same bed—
I sing—
But my people
Are forgetting how to sing.

There is tenderness in these poems, infinite pity, hope as well as outrage, a vision of a future which shall heal the injustices and agonies of the present. Above all there is the love of men, beginning with his Dad, who "died young . . . and never had as many eggs to eat as he wanted," and running out to all the circle of humankind, especially the workers. The volume is more than poetry. It is a testament of faith, and a confession of brotherhood. The last poem, "End," sums it all up:

I've been a poet,
A maker of songs.
I've sung of the toilers I know—
Of hate, sorrow, love and joy . . .
I've flung my arms wide
And staggered through a Georgia
Corn-field at midnight
Where a slow southern wind,
Like the kind fingers of a mother,
Caressing my aching body
To soothe a numb yearning
For something I'd lost.
I've tasted the emptiness
Of unrequited dreams
And days when I forgot
How to sing.

Jesse Stuart speaks of James Whitcomb Riley as having written "no nearer the soil" than Don West. This strikes us as an inept comparison. Riley has none of Don's hard realism and stern prophecy, and Don little of Riley's sentiment. I think rather of Ebenezer Elliott, the Chartist poet, of W. W. Gibson, and of Jesse Stuart himself. But primarily Don West is his own precious self. He needs no comparisons to describe and justify his genius. He stands on his own feet without leaning.

◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

### The Ethical Culture Society

ETHICAL RELIGION: ITS BASIS AND POSSIBILITIES. *By John L. Elliott and Ten Others. New York: American Ethical Union.* 25 *cents.*

This excellent booklet, written in the form of a series of brief essays by present-day leaders of Ethical Culture, is an attempt to interpret this important religious movement in the light of the changing conditions of this chaotic world of our time. "Two profound changes in the attitude of men toward religion," writes Dr. John L. Elliott, successor to the late Felix Adler, have taken place since the Ethical Culture Movement began its work. One is the confusion and doubt, even despair, which have seized men's minds as to "the worth and the meaning of life." The other is "the tendency of thinking men and women . . . to turn to faith in better human relations as the best, perhaps the only source of hope for a better kind of life." In this second and more hopeful change of attitude, Dr. Elliott finds "a confirmation of the basic convictions of the Ethical Culture Movement."

In the eleven essays in this booklet, the Ethical Culture idea is interpreted from various points of view. Its essence is perhaps best stated by George E. O'Dell when he presents the three-fold summary—"reverence for ideals of character and conduct, a belief in moral instruction and example as means of character building, and a sense of responsibility to be socially beneficent." Impressive is the insistence of one contributor after another that Ethical Culture is not a secular movement at all but a *religion.* Indeed, there seems to be a marked tendency in this little volume to emphasize the deeper mystical and spiritual aspects of religious faith. Dr. Henry Neumann, quite in the older tradition of Ethical Culture, speaks "of those of us who look to no Divine Providence or a life beyond the grave." But in other essays there is a recognition and reaching after God which is significant. Thus, Robert D. Kohn speaks of his "reasoning faculties" as not being adequate to console him for the failures of his everyday life, and thus feeling the need of "a faith that there is in process a perfecting of man's higher nature." This is "a faith," he writes, "because I want to believe what I cannot prove is true. My religion . . . justifies itself as such because it gets its inspiration from a concept of a potential spiritual magnificence such as in other religious men is personified as God."

It would be pleasant, if we had space, to comment on each one of these papers. I especially enjoyed Dr. David S. Muzzey's vigorous setting forth of what Ethical Religion is *not.* Dr. Horace J. Bridges' contribution is beautifully written and as profound as its title, "The Ethical Foundation." Dr. Elliott's closing pages on "Interdependence" have great cogency at this moment in world history. But it is unwise, and unfair, to make distinctions where all is so excellent.

---

## The Field

(*Continued from page* 34)

sentatives in India may deny the claim.

If they do, I shall feel sorry for them. They may tell you that our non-coöperation was not wholly non-violent, that it is born of hatred. If they give that testimony I will not deny it.

Had it been wholly non-violent, if all non-coöperators had been filled with good will to you, I would make bold to say that you who are India's masters would have become her pupils, and, with much greater skill than we, have perfected this matchless weapon and met the menace of the German and Italian friends with it.

Indeed, the history of Europe during the past few months would then have been written differently. Europe would have been spared seas of inno-

(*Continued on page* 48)

# Correspondence

### Mr. Willkie's Peculiar Liberalism

Editor of UNITY:

I shall vote for Roosevelt and Wallace in November. But I had hoped that Mr. Willkie, the self-styled liberal, the independent and progressive man of big business, would scorn the tricks and hypocrisies of partisan politics and make a clean, decent, honorable campaign. This would have been a notable service to the nation and to civilization.

But Mr. Willkie's acceptance address was not honorable or morally decent. If he has ability and cleverness, these qualities were conspicuous by their absence in that long, dull, and self-contradictory speech. It was a feeble and shallow utterance.

It accused the President of unscruplous moves, of selfish and sinister ambition, of trickery and failure to take the people into his confidence, of deliberate warmongering. There is not a scrap of evidence to support these charges. Had Mr. Willkie charged indiscretions, mistakes, he would have been within the limits of legitimate criticism. But to impugn motives, to pretend to read intentions, is not legitimate in the case of a chief executive respected and admired by millions, and one whose long public career has been distinguished and enlightened.

Mr. Willkie rails at and condemns the New Deal, yet he says he approves most of the *specific* measures covered by that phrase. He believes, he says, in collective bargaining, in regulation of security issues, public utilities, and banks. He is for parity for agriculture, old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, work for the unemployed by states and nation, relief for the destitute who cannot be provided with jobs. All this *is* the New Deal. What is he kicking about?

Ah, the President has been hostile to business! Nonsense, he has been hostile to parasitic holding speculation, to intrenched greed, to reckless gambling with investors' money, to rapacious monopoly, to arrogant and autocratic employers who fight unionism and employ thugs and spies to terrorize labor. He has done nothing to hamper and discourage sound and honest business. He is hated by the stubborn, autocratic Tories in industry—the more honor to him!

Roosevelt is endangering democracy by running for a third term, wails Mr. Willkie. Cant and humbug! He is running because union labor and progressives urged him to run, because there was no other candidate with genuinely popular support, and because at this grave and critical time his experience and his moral authority as a humanitarian statesman and foe of brutal totalitarianism are deemed indispensable by millions of judicious Americans.

Traditions and precedents have their value. But we cannot be governed by the dead hand. Conditions change and new standards become proper and necessary. The will of the living is more binding than the ideas of the past.

Democracy in America is not threatened by a third term. It is threatened by racial hatreds and prejudices, by plutocratic opposition to progress, by those who are at heart Fascists or worse. It is threatened by the Hitlers and Mussolinis, men without morality or conscience, quacks and fanatics, who have repudiated the values of the last three hundred years.

Roosevelt a dictator! What rubbish. What about Congress, the courts, the States, the press and the forum, the radio. Could he suppress all these if he would, and would he if he could?

Do not let partisan bigotry and lust for power run away with you, Messrs. Willkie-ites. Avoid childish twaddle. We are safe if we continue and improve the New Deal, and if we promote prosperity by sound and adequate means and methods. Roosevelt has been moderate, *not* radical. He stands for gradual reform, and his violent foes are, as a rule, those whom Theodore Roosevelt called rural Tories and malefactors of great wealth, and whom Woodrow Wilson denounced as the true enemies of democracy.

Mr. Willkie has no real issue. He talks of reduced federal expenditures, but reduced expenditures, without jobs to reemploy the idle, means starvation and sickness and misery for millions. Mr. Willkie and his rich backers have no jobs to offer. They are destitute of ideas and plans. They cry confidence when there is no confidence—in them. The government has to do *what they failed to do. Their* rule spells ruin. The forces behind Willkie are nearly all reactionary. The progressives will not be fooled by them. They will vote for Roosevelt.

VICTOR S. YARROS.

*Chicago, Illinois.*

### Citizens of the World

Editor of UNITY:

What is essential and what is non-essential for the purpose of stopping war? Hitler declares he is fighting for the right of his people to everything needful wherever produced on equal terms. Does this mean on the terms of the owner of the product who may produce it by slave labor or high priced labor? Also does it mean including high taxes on the product in the country of origin, high or low transportation charges, insurance, etc., etc.? In answer to Hitler the declaration is made that through peaceful means he could secure all the advantages he is likely to obtain by force. Does this seem possible? Let us analyze the situation. What is the origin of countries? Is it not by force or fraud or discovery? How else has the modern state evolved? Byrd takes over the Antarctic in the name of the United States by right of discovery and ever after people of the world are privileged to settle there on the terms set by the United States. If the United States is strong enough, this right will be maintained. And for the liberty and independence of the United States and "glory of the flag" we will fight for our country—the Antarctic.

Has any country made money out of holding colonies? No! But individuals of the holders of colonies have. In this technological age, in my opinion, we are citizens of the world. My citizenship is where I make a living. I need the world for this purpose. For instance if an automobile worker is unable to get black diamonds he cannot cut hard steel. Likewise with all the other products, viz., hard steel, rubber, etc. Then the elemental question of individual owners of the raw materials: Have they a title deed from the Creator? No! Then why treat the land as if there is? How about slave labor? We have slave labor in various forms concealing the reality throughout the world. As man seeks to satisfy his desires with the least effort educators tell us people are amenable and teachable for better or worse. Before we have cessation of war, except for short periods we must recognize fundamentals and appeal to all well-intentioned people to study people and their aims: Are people of good or bad will? Are people likely to invade others when nearly all they need or long for can be secured without war? If we are citizens of the world by reason of living in this technological age, do we not have a common problem, of changing concepts of property, of privilege, of power, of rights so that the meanest and lowest before the law, need not complain? In my opinion, nothing short of this will stop war.

MORRIS LYCHENHEIM.

*Chicago, Illinois.*

## The Field

*(Continued from page 47)*

cent blood, the rape of so many small nations, and an orgy of hatred.

This is no appeal made by a man who does not know his business. I have been practicing with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years. I have applied it in every walk of life—domestic, institutional, economic, and political. I know no single case in which it has failed. Where it seemed sometimes to have failed, I have ascribed it to my imperfections.

### In Search of Truth

I claim no perfection for myself. But I do claim to be a passionate seeker of truth, which is but another name for God. In the course of that search, the discovery of non-violence came to me. It has spread over my life mission. I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission.

I claim to have been the lifelong and wholly disinterested friend of the British people. At one time I used to be also the lover of your empire. I thought it was doing good to India. When I saw that in the nature of things it could do no good, I used and am still using the non-violent method to fight imperialism. Whatever is the ultimate fate of my country, my love for you remains and will remain undiminished.

My non-violence demands universal love, and you are no small part of it. It is that love which prompted my appeal to you. May God give power to every word of mine. In his name I begin to write this and in his name I close it. May your statesmen have wisdom and courage to respond to my appeal.